Apparently this organization has had only limited success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2 per cent went over to the "reform church"; many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

From October 1952 on there was less persecution of Catholics, although between January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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204 of the region had a total of 9 periodicals, while the province of Hopei alone had 40.[71] The following table indicates the number of Catholics and the distribution of Catholic centers in the Southwest:[72]

71. Cf. R. Lowenthal, The Religious Periodical Press in China, Peking, 1940, p. 8.

72. Figures on Catholics are from Annuaire des missions catholiques de Chine 1939, Shanghai, 1939. Distribution of Catholic centers from Monsterleet, pp. 16-17.

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regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of the church in China is dark indeed.

Southwest China was a relatively late and underdeveloped field of missionary effort; it suffered from the tendency of Protestant missions to concentrate in the coastal and easily accessible provinces. The distribution of Protestant periodicals serves to illustrate this fact. Between 1914 and 1937, 18 Protestant journals were established in the southwestern provinces (none in Kweichow). During the same period 124 were started in Kiangsu -- most of them probably in Shanghai -- and 115 in Kwangtung -- most of them probably in Canton. The following table shows the distribution of Protestants in the three provinces of the Southwest.[87]

87. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages appear to be far too high and would yield a larger number of Protestants than the churches ever claimed.

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747 [204] activities have been in Shanghai.[16] Beginning in January 1952, the China Welfare Institute has published an international, propaganda-disseminating, bimonthly magazine, China Reconstructs, in the English language.

The Chinese People's National Committee for the Defense of Children was formed on November 26, 1951 in Peking, in response to the call issued at the Berlin conference of the International Federation of Democratic Women. The head of this organization is also Soong Ching-ling. The policy of this committee, apart from the promotion of child welfare, was defined as anti-imperialisism and the defense of world peace.[17]

A group of professors in Shanghai founded the China Tuberculosis Prevention Association in 1948. The Communist regime brought this organization under their control and then moved it to Peking in 1951. In August 1953, a conference of the workers was called, and certain tasks and policies of the association were outlined. It is reported that tuberculosis prevention units all over the country are affiliated with this organization.[18]

16. Ibid., pp. 397-398; Relief Work, pp. 8 - 9.
17. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 260-61.
18. Ibid., p. 398; Relief Work, pp.8-9.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

I. SCOPE OF DISCUSSION

208 In Communist China, public information lays a heavy stress on propaganda and education. As is true of all Communist countries, the Chinese People's Republic is guided by the inviolable principle that all facts and issues must be selected and interpreted in the light of Marxist theories and whatever the current Party line dictates. Limited by source materials of a regional character, the following discussion on public information and propaganda in Southwest China will attempt to cover only the basic facts about the formal structure, operations, and government control of the principal media of mass communication in the region. Wherever possible, exemplary cases in each medium will be included.

II. PRESS

A. News Services

204 Before the Communists occupied the Southwest China Region, the nationalist government-operated Central News Agency played a leading part in supplying the newspapers in this area with materials. Services of foreign press associations were available. Dispatches from such

204 major institutions as the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Reuters of England, Agence France, and Tass frequently appeared in local newspapers. Until shortly before the Communist offensive against the Nationalist bastion of Szechwan Province towards the end of 1949, the Chinese Communist official outlet, the New China News Agency, was also operating in Chungking, Chengtu, and a few other large cities in this region. This last news service was subject to varying degrees of government suppression as the Nationalist-Communist conflict blew hot and cold throughout World War II and subsequent years.

Immediately upon the occupation of Southwest China, the Communists moved to expand the New China News Agency. The Kuomintang Central News Agency went out of business. One after another, American and European news service representatives packed up and left. Within months the New China News Agency became the sole news-gathering agency in this region. Under the direct control of the Information Administration in Peking, this Communist news agency established its branches in both military and civil subdivisions:

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Table 1. Hierarchy of the New China News Agency */

Branch Headquarters	Branch Office	Section	Correspondence Center	Liaison Office
Civil Region	Province	Municipal	Hsien	Hsiang
Military Field Army Corps	Army	Regiment	Battalion	Company

*/ Jen Chung, "Lun Chung-kung Ti Hsin-wen Kung-tso" ["The Chinese Communist Press"], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 29, 1954, pp. 7-9.

•204 Although the organization of the New China News Agency is essentially the same in all regions, in Southwest China the agency's branches attached to the armed forces are most extensively developed. A large number of troops have been engaged in road building in western Szechwan Province (former Sikang Province) and Tibet, and publicity given the accomplishments of the People's Liberation Army in developing the long-neglected land of Southwest China will not only help to sustain the soldiers' morale but will give support to Peking's theory of national reconstruction, Soviet-styled.

The organization of the New China News Agency is highly centralized. Through the chain of command shown in Table 1, every staff member is placed under rigid government and Party control. Careful selection of correspondents is only the first step the agency adopts to ensure the allegiance of its employees to the government and the Party. According to some anti-Communist sources, correspondents must submit ideas and outlines for approval before writing them. The finished articles go through another thorough screening before they are released. [1]

Another news agency, the China News Service was established in October 1952, with branches in Southwest China. The head of this agency, Chin Chung-hua, was a member of the East China Military and Political Committee (supreme authority in this region until 1954) and

1. Jen Chung, "Chung-kung Pao-chih Ti Nei-yung Chi An-p'ai" ["The Contents and Formats of the Chinese Communist Newspapers"] , ibid. No. 71, May10, 1954, pp.14-15.

204 vice-chairman of the Cultural Department under the committee. The agency serves as an interpreter of events in China for foreign consumption; its branches in this region are not active.

B. Newspapers

1. Pre-Communist Newspapers.

Compared with the North and East China regions, Southwest China had been slow in newspaper development until the early 1940's when the war against Japan caused many journalistic institutions and personnel to move from the coastal areas to the interior. No statistics are available on the number of newspapers and their circulations in the period before the Communist occupation. However, a survey of available files shows that there were at least forty-three newspapers in this region under the Nationalist Government. Their distribution was as follows:

Table 2. Newspapers in Southwest China

Place of Publication	Number
Szechwan Province	31
Kweichow Province	7
Yunnan Province	3
Sikang Province	2
Total	43

*/ Compiled from the collection at the Hoover Library, Stanford University.

With few exceptions, the newspapers listed in Table 2 were in operation during 1946-47. Of the thirty-one papers published in Szechwan, seventeen were in the city of Chungking and eleven in Chengtu. Six of the Kweichow papers were printed in the provincial capital of Kweiyang. The two papers in Sikang Province were published in Hsi-ch'ang, which was incorporated into Szechwan in July 1955. Only five of these papers can be identified as Nationalist Party organs, and only one was a Communist organ per se. Some were irregularly published periodicals, with the appearance of tabloid newspapers. Since these newspapers formed the basis for the development of the Communist daily press, a representative sampling is selected for brief review.

204

a) Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily] . This was one of the largest newspapers in pre-Communist China, with branches in several large cities in China. Labeled "the New York Times of China," it at one time appeared under the masthead, L'Impartial. During and immediately after World War II, this daily offered conservative and impartial news coverage, reflecting its editorial policy. In 1946, when Wang Wen-pin succeeded Ts'ao Ku-ping as published, L' Impartial was dropped from its masthead and Ta-kung Pao remained. This newspaper was printed in Chungking, China's capital during World War II. A table, giving a percentage breakdown of contents of a typical issue in January 1949, is included to show the coverage offered by the Ta-kung Pao, before the Communists began to use it as a medium of propaganda.

Table 3. Contents of Ta-kung Pao (January 1949) */

Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorial	3.5
Foreign News	6.2
National News	13.3
Regional News	12.1
Local News	3.4
Features	4.7
Letters to editor	2.3
Graphic materials	0.0
Advertising	50.0
Market news	4.5

*/ Compiled from files at Hoover Library

The Ta-kung Pao regularly published four pages a day; the size of the page was 14' x 20', divided into fourteen horizontal columns, using for the text "new No. 5" type, about one-fourth the size of the type used in the Chinese dailies now published in America. Among all the dailies available in Southwest China during World War II, this paper probably gave the most thorough news coverage, printing news briefs compiled from the major wire services. Toward the end of 1948, the paper was critical of the Kuomintang economic policy, but continued to support the government in its fight against the Communists. After the

204 Communist occupation of Southwest China, the Ta-kung Pao in Chungking was suspended, but its branches carried on in those cities unoccupied by the Communists.

Most of the major dailies in this region during World War II imitated the physical appearance of the Ta-kung Pao.

b) Kuei-chou Shang-pao. The Kweichow Commercial Daily copied the format of the Ta-kung Pao. Established in 1940, it remained the leading daily in Kweichow Province until 1949. Its editorial policy was conservative, and it put strong emphasis on economic and commercial news. Editor Lai Yung-ch'u retired from publishing immediately after the Communists came to power and has not been heard of since.

c) Tien-tung Jih-pao. The Eastern Yunnan Daily, published in Chao-t'ung, is a typical example of the smaller tabloid which flourished in Southwest China prior to the Communist conquest. Most of these tabloids were predominantly local in character, and a large segment of the reading public in outlying districts relied on them for news of local interest. A table, giving a percentage breakdown of contents of a typical issue in May 1947, is included to show the coverage offered by the Tien-tung Jih-pao before the Communists appeared.

204 Table 4. Contents of Tien-tung Jih-pao (May 1947)*

Type of Material	Percentage
Editorial	6
Foreign News	7
National News	13
Local news	19
Features	25
Commercial News	5
Advertising	25

*/ Compiled from files at the Hoover Library

The Tien-tung Jih -pao was a four-page paper, 13' x 9'. For a tabloid of this kind, the space devoted to foreign news offered unusually broad coverage and increased its appeal to readers of varying educational backgrounds. The feature columns, as a rule, contained literary works, a common characteristic of many pre-Communist papers. The editorials paid particular attention to local political matters, the efficiency of the local government, and the organization of local groups, with strong anti-Communist overtones. Editor Li Ping-ch'ang has not appeared on the regional political scene since 1949. It is not known if the paper continues in operation.

2. Communist Newspapers

a) Development and Control

204 The occupation of Southwest China was not complete until the end of 1949 when the evacuation of the Nationalists gave the Communists control of this region. The only daily published by the Communists, Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], with headquarters in Chungking, has ceased publication. If there were clandestine pro-Communist papers in this region, they had difficulty in publishing under strict surveillance. Immediately after the Communists took over the administration of this region, an organized effort was made to "convert" the independent papers to Communism and expand official Party organs. By July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee (the supreme authority in this region at that time), was in a position to claim success. He urged newspaper publishers to "face reality, get closer to the masses, and strengthen their criticism and self-criticism work." [2] Ch'u reported that as of July 1950, seven government-operated newspapers were being published in this region. Four of these were at the administrative level (under province but above hsien) and two were designed for the workers exclusively. The circulation of the seven papers

2. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports] , Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 1003.

totaled 90,000. In addition the armed forces units stationed in this region published their own papers, and six newspapers, with a total circulation of about 20,000, were operated by private interests.[3] The total circulation of the newspapers in Southwest China amounted to 193,000. There was a daily paper for one out of every 400 persons in Southwest China in 1950. 204

An incomplete survey in August 1951 showed that thirty-five papers were in operation on the administrative level, and in northern and southern Szechwan Province alone, fifty-four hsien level newspapers were being published. The total circulation figure had jumped from under 200,000 persons in Southwest China in 1951 to over 450,000. There was a daily paper for one out of every 200 individuals at that time. There were also privately published newspaper not forced to suspend operations, and these non-government newspapers[4] had a total circulation of about 20,000.

By September 1952, the total number of newspapers in this region had increased to 234, of which 18 were at the regional and provincial levels,

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3. Ibid., p. 1002.

4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951.

204 33 at the administrative level, and 183 at the hsien level. The aggregate circulation figure for all the regional and provincial papers was 600,000; no information on the circulation of the other 216 papers is available.[5] It is not certain whether these figures included any non-government organ, but it is presumed that no "independent" voices existed in the midst of a government-controlled press.

204 563 The inauguration of a Tibetan-language newspaper on June 10, 1953 in northern Szechwan may prove to be of far-reaching significance. Named Min-chiang Pao [Min River Daily], this paper is intended for the Tibetan minority population inhabiting the upper reaches of the Min River. The first issue of the paper appeared in tabloid form, and carrying a portrait of Mao Tse-tung and messages from officials of the Tibetan Autonomous Area in Szechwan Province. The paper was to appear every five days.[6] Establishment of minority-language newspapers is in line with Peking's policy toward the non-Chinese speaking ethnic groups on the Mainland. Unfortunately no sample of this paper is available for analysis.

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5. Ibid., September 30, 1952, p. 3.

6. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 593, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 19, 1953, p. 20.

204 In January 1954, there were eight newspapers on the administrative district level in Szechwan Province alone. Six of these were intended to serve the farming population and one was the above-mentioned Min River Daily. The total circulation of these papers was about 80,000. Thirty-six papers were published at mining centers and factories near Chungking, where a number of others were published.[7] The exact number of hsien newspapers printed in this province are unknown.

[439] The total number of newspapers published in Southwest China today are unknown. The Communists began tightening their control on export of newspapers in the winter of 1951. By the spring of 1953, all but a few official and national newspapers were placed on the contraband list. Since then it has been extremely difficult to secure accurate statistics on the press in any region of China. Although the over-all policy of the regime has been to expand newspaper publishing, with the ultimate goal of a newspaper at each political level from the province to the village, there have been modifications in the execution of this policy during the past six years. Under the pretext of economy, some papers have been merged, and some new periodicals have been inaugurated. If the total national figures are any indication, the number of newspapers published currently in Southwest China is about

7. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, January 17, 1954.

204 the same as in 1952.[8]

As to the general line adopted by the editors of these newspapers, the Communist press has made it clear in a statement on the role played by the newspapers in Southwest China: "Gradually the papers on the administrative district level have become the tool with which local party cadres and those at industrial centers keep contact with and educate the masses.[9]

Among the twenty-eight major newspapers of Mainland China listed in the 1955 People's Handbook, the following four are in Southwest China:

Table 5. Major Newspapers in Southwest China (1955) *

Name	Place of Publication
Ssu-ch'uan Jih-pao [Szechwan Daily]	Chengtu
Yun-nan Jih-pao [Yunnan Daily]	Kunming
Hsin-ch'ien Jih-pao [New Kweichow Daily]	Kweiyang
Hsi-k'ang Jih-pao [Sikang Daily]	Ya-nan

*/ People's Handbook, 1955, p. 553.

8. There were 276 newspapers at administrative district level in China in 1952. In 1953, the figure dropped to 260. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, p. 554.

9. People's Daily, Peking, January 17, 1954.

204 None of the papers in Table 5 are available for this investigation. However, one of the most influential Party newspapers, New China Daily, was exported until July 1953. It was first published in Chungking in 1938, when the Nationalists and Communists joined in the "united front" against Japan, and continued in operation until 1947 when the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists brought about its suspension. In December 1949, it resumed publication and functioned as the official organ of the Communist Party in Southwest China until its dissolution sometimes after 1953 when the Szechwan Daily succeeded it as the official organ for the entire region.[10] After the abolition of the "greater administrative regions" in the summer of 1954, the People's Daily (the Pravda of China), published in Peking, was reprinted in Southwest China and served as the leading Party organ for this region as well as for the entire country.

b) Contents and Readership

A table giving an average percentage breakdown of contents of typical issues of the New China Daily is included to show the coverage offered.

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10. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia Ti Ssu-ch'uan [Szechwan under Communist Rule], Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, January 24, 1954, p. 27.

Table 6. Content of the New China Daily (June-July 1953) */

204

Type of Material	Percentage of Total Space
Editorial	5.6
Foreign news	14.3
National news	16.2
Regional news	25.1
Local news	4.7
Features	18.7
Letters to the editor	3.5
Graphic materials	1.2
Advertising	9.9
Market news	0.8

*/ Compiled from the file at the Hoover Library

The editorials in the New China Daily are often reports from the People's Daily in Peking. They are long-winded harangues on such current subjects as "Open the Way to a Peaceful Settlement in Korea" (June 10, 1953, p. 1), and "Strive to Better Raise Our Younger Generation" (June 2, 1953, p. 1). The paper itself also prints shorter editorial comment; for example, "A Positive Attitude Should Be Adopted toward the Workers' Rationalization Suggestions" (June 9, 1953, p. 2), which appears side by side with a news item depicting how a worker's suggestion to increase efficiency was ignored. This same news item also

204 serves as an illustration of how a local issue is treated by the New China Daily, which, as a rule, carries very few local items.

In the above issues of this newspaper, most of the foreign news items deal with the peace talks in Korea. In the national and regional news columns, economic reconstruction and preparation for the imminent general election (which took place in 1954) are central themes. It is interesting to point out that the news items often resemble feature stories. Both are usually lengthy and contain much editorializing. Even the headlines are long and opinionating statements. However, compared with many major newspapers in other regions the New China Daily appears to be more carefully edited and few phrases directly glorifying Mao Tse-tung and his regime have found their way into the headlines. In the news items, the traditional western journalist's "what-where-when-how" approach is missing.

There is no society column in the New China Daily of Chungking, unless the commencement speech at the local party cadres school, or the report on the proceedings at a local factory mass meeting can be so considered. There is no sports page; news items having any bearing on physical education are either speeches by the Director of the Physical Education Department or brief statistical summaries of athletic events without any "color material." Crime and murder news is positively ruled out. Fires and other disasters appear in the paper only when they contain possible "sabotage" angles to be exploited

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for propaganda effect. What little space allocated to advertising is taken up by government agencies' announcements and few commercial classified advertisements. Display advertisements, however modest, are a rare item. 204

The potential of graphic materials is being fully exploited within the paper's physical limitations which, at least in 1953, did not allow elaborate illustrations. Photographs are used. In the June 2, 1953 issue, for instance, seven pictures appear on different pages, all contributing to the timely occasion of Children's Day. The captions are so phrased as to depict the "Life of Lucky Children in the Mao Tse-tung Era."

The "letters to the editor" column is a common feature for amny newspapers on the China Mainland. Sometimes the New China Daily carries a digest of several letters on the same subject; at other times the paper prefaces several letters on the same subject with a critical analysis or reply; at still other times the paper merely prints its editorial reply without reproducing the letters. None of the criticisms touch upon the basic policy of the Communists. If a letter is critical of a particular government agency, the concerned agency is given space to reply in a subsequent issue. Such criticism on occasion can constitute a basis for action on a high level to correct the condition criticized. Once the Southwest Construction Bureau was forced to adopt a measure to improve its personnel training program as a result of a critical letter printed in the New China Daily.[11]

11. New China Daily, Chungking, May 28, 1953, p.2.

204 The New China Daily was regularly published in four pages, size 14" x 20", divided into seven horizontal columns. The text was printed with old "size No. 5" type, which was slightly larger than the new "size No. 5" type used in pre-Communist press. Typographically, the New China Daily was an improvement over its predecessors before 1949 in this region. An interesting feature in the make-up of this paper was the two ear-boxes on the front page. The left ear was always a digest of the day's important news, and the right ear was occupied by a photograph showing, in most cases, a construction project.

It is possible that most of the larger newspapers in Southwest China today are fashioned after the New China Daily. Some of the hsien newspapers presumably are printed in the tabloid form, of which no sample is available. However, one may study the physical appearance of the tabloids described in the foregoing sections of this discussion to derive an approximate picture of what may be in circulation now in Southwest China.

c) Distribution and Sales

Subscriptions to the major newspapers in Southwest China are handled through either the local post offices or the China Publications Distribution Company, a government-supervised organization, which has branches throughout Mainland China. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of allowing the smaller local papers to manage their own subscriptions and sales. If subscribed through the post office,

204 the paper is delivered together with the mail. Street sale constitutes a part of the distribution, through the existing book stores and sidewalk stands which will be discussed in the section "Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books." There is no evidence of news hawkers or delivery boys who, before 1949, used to roam the streets in Southwest China.

The circulation figures of the newspapers and methods of distribution are misleading if one attempts to use them to gauge the readership of the press in Southwest China. Each subscription and each copy purchased on the street may be shared by dozens of readers. Most of the schools include newspaper reading in their regular curricula. Factories and government offices organize newspaper reading and discussion groups. The newspapers all run "social service departments" to provide guidance for these reading groups. The New China Daily particularly has a reputation for its activities in fostering these groups. The paper sends news analysts to preside at reading sessions. In outlying areas where the public is mostly illiterate, the news analyst reads and explains the content of the paper to his audience. He also works in collaboration with the "propaganda officers" and "radio receiving officers" who are responsible for putting out blackboard or wall newspapers.

The street sale price of the New China Daily in 1953 was JMP 600. This was the price for five to ten ounces of rice, or three ounces of pork at that time. The government makes an effort

204 to keep down the price of all publications so that they can be more readily available to larger numbers of readers. At the same time, Communist authorities in Southwest China are following the national practice of making the newspapers self-supporting. The reason of the move is not only economy, but the belief that if the papers are sufficiently "popularized," they will have enough support from the masses, making government subsidy unnecessary. By October 1951, official reports showed that except three dailies -- the North Szechwan, South Szechwan, Sikang -- all the newspapers in this region had been paying their own bills.[12]

C. Magazines, Pamphlets, and Books

1. Reorganization of Publication and Distribution

204 214 In pre-Communist days, publication of magazines and printing of books were, in most cases, two separate enterprises. Local magazines were operated by private groups and printed in local printing plants found in such larger cities as Chengtu and Chungking in Szechwan Province, Kunming in Yunnan Province, and Kweiyang in Kweichow Province. National magazines were distributed through local book stores. There was little book printing done in this region until the Sino-Japanese war when many eastern China publishers moved west. Many national book publishers had branches in Southwest China. Most notable of these were the Commercial Press, and the Chung-hua, Shih-chieh, K'ai-ming, Sheng-

12. New China Daily, Chungking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 huo, Erh-t'ung, and Cheng-chung bookstores.
214 Shortly before the Sino-Japanese war started, the Communist New China Bookstore also began to establish branch outlets in this region.

214 After 1949, the Communist policy for the publishing industry was "centralization and specialization." Publishing facilities were centralized, and each consolidated firm was required to specialize in one field of publication. National distributors were established to handle the sales. With publication and distribution clearly divided, the Communists believed that it would then become possible to control the entire publishing industry by means of a rigid quota system. In Southwest China, control of publication and distribution rested with the Cultural and Educational Mission. Extensive merging eliminated the majority of small publishers. The official New China Bookstore played a leading part in reorganizing the larger ones. The existing branches of formerly independent national publishers followed the policies of their headquarters in North and East China and effected a complete overhaul of management and personnel policies. Most of these publishing houses entered into partnership with government interests. By July 1950, the New China Bookstore already had in this region seven branch offices and thirty-two stores, all directly responsible to their regional headquarters in Chungking.[13] The number of branch stores of this firm increased rapidly to sixty-two in this region

13. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 1002.

214 The figures in Table 8 are all based on Communist claims, and they have to be examined with caution as exaggerations may be involved. One thing does emerge quite clearly from them. The Communists in Southwest China are relaying on national publishers to supply books, and official attention is concentrated on distribution. The figures for "number of copies distributed" in Table 8, therefore, do not reflect the quantity of books and magazines "printed" in Southwest China; a good portion of the items sold in this region are apparently shipped in from North or East China. Some sources even say that "no major publishers in this area are permitted separately to publish any books."[21] While this may mean that most of the publishers in Southwest China are reprinting books prepared by national publishers, it does not preclude the possibility of some publishers still continuing to print items of regional interest with government
● 204 approval. A survey of available sources reveals that the following regional publications were available in Southwest China in 1953:

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21. Szechwan under Communist Rule, loc.cit., (p. 27).

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Table 9. Major Regional Magazines Advertised in Southwest China (1953) */

Name	Type	Publisher	Price
Hsi-nan Wen-i [Southwest Literature]	Monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	JMP $2,500
Hsi-nan Fu-nü [Southwest Women]	Monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	- - -
Hsi-nan Ch'ing-nien [Southwest Youth]	Biweekly	Southwest Youth Publ. Co.	JMP $1,300
Ta-chung Hua-pao [Popular Pictorial]	Semi-monthly	- - -	JMP $700
Shuo-ku Ch'ang-chin [Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today]	Semi-monthly	Southwest Workers' Publ. Co.	- - -

*/ Compiled from New China Daily, Chungking, January 1953 issues.

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In addition to those listed in Table 9, there were undoubtedly many more lesser regional magazines which failed to compete for attention in a regional newspaper's advertising columns. On the other hand, many major national magazines were listed, such as People's Pictorial, New Reconstruction, Study, and the Chinese version of For A Lasting Peace and For A People's Democracy. The prices listed in Table 9 may be compared with the price for rice, about JMP$700 a pound, and pork, about JMP$2,850 a pound, in 1953 in Chungking.

3. Contents and Readership

Textbook distributors, in the Southwest China Region, have been doing a profitable business. Next to textbooks, popular literature, cartoons, periodicals and pamphlets have been and resumably still are easiest items to sell.[22] One of the typical booklets is the "March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet," published by the Southwest People's Publishing Company in 1952.[23] It

22. A national survey in early 1950 showed that popular literature, with 43 titles, topped the list of periodicals then in circulation. See Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol.I, No. 5, Peking, March 1950, pp. 1255-58. Another national survey in Feb. 1951 showed that popular literature, with 1673 titles, ranked first among all categories of books published from Nov. 1949 to Dec. 1950.

23. T'a-p'o Hsüeh-shan Chin-chün Hsi-ts'ang [March on Snow Mountains toward Tibet], Chungking, Hsi-nan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952.

204 Clues to the contents of the magazines in this region are found in their titles which often specificy the reader groups for which the publications are intended. The titles of the articles are also self-explanatory. The "Good News for Our Mother Country," in Southwest Literature, No. 13, eulogizes the achievements of Communist China; the "Hero's Blood Nurtures Flowers of Victory" in Southwest Women, No. 19, praises patriotism of the Chinese dead on Korean battlefields, thus giving consolation to their widows who may be reading this magazine at home. The "Sing and Cheer for 1953" in Songs and Verses of Yesterday and Today, No. 24, recounts Communist success in 1952 and entertains a rosy prospect for the new year. The Popular Pictorial in its first 1953 issue is loaded with news photographs, showing, of course, the promising side of every subject, and "New Year" paintings designed for the readers to clip off and use for decorative purposes. These paintings are a good propaganda medium of which a fuller discussion is presented in the chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions."

214 207 Are the people in Southwest China reading these books and pamphlets? According to Table 8, about one out of four persons during the first half of 1951; and about one out of two persons bought three copies during the period of July 1951 to September 1952. This is better than the records available for both Central-South and East China for the same periods. (In Central-South China,

gather around him wherever he goes. About 1,000 of these couriers were on duty in Szechwan Province in January 1955,[31] but there is no information available on how many such couriers there are altogether in Southwest China. 203

There are also popular science programs designed to educate the public in basic scientific knowledge. But in comparison with East and North China, this region is lagging behind in the development of this type of program, for it has yet to report the establishment of any "science education center."

D. Application and Effectiveness of the Press as a Propaganda Medium

Having thus examined the organization and operation of the Communist press in this region, let us see how the Communists have made use of the press for propaganda propaganda purposes, and if their effort has been successful. However, because the Communist experiment with the press in this region is still new and information on it is even more scarce than that of the other regions, our findings can hardly be expected to be too conclusive. At any rate the following observations on the characteristics of the Communist press in Southwest China are made with a view to providing some understanding of the problems involved. While some of these characteristics may tend to hamper the response of the people in the region to 204 208

31. Szechwan Under Communist Rule, p. 26.

204 the press operated by the Communists, others
208 may enhance it.

1. As a part of their reorganization of the press, the Communists in Southwest China have started a concerted drive to "reform" the thought of the newspapermen. A salvo is fired at the traditional beliefs of the journalists, and a new professional standard established. The new standard is to report the facts selected and interpreted for the sole purpose of educating the readers to support government policy. As a result, the body of information the public receives via the newspapers is restricted to only what the government deems fit for public consumption. The same standard applies to magazines, books and other publications. Writers are subject to the same screening and indoctrination. Those who have failed to be converted simply have to give up writing as a profession.

Although in this region there has been no incident involving severe penalty meted out to politically "undesirable" writers, the execution of six journalists in Canton in 1951 has produced far-reaching repercussions and will remain as a warning to those who tend to deviate from the official party line. Subsequent literary purges that time and again jolted the literary circles in China will also contribute to the submissiveness of writers. (For a more detailed discussion on literary purges, see chapter on "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions.") The response of the press to every turn of the political wind is instantaneous and done with amazing efficiency.

•204 As soon as Peking decides to weed out wavering
208 elements from the party ranks, regional newspapers will pick up the message and splash it all over their front pages. The next day local papers will follow suit. In the course of a week pamphlets harping on the same theme will flood the book market. Throughout the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, the "Resist-America-Air-Korea Movement, the "Anti-American-German-Warfare" Movement, and the "Oppose American Effort to Revive Japanese Militarism" Movement, the press in Southwest China answered the call as quickly as the newspapers and pamphlets in any other regions of China.

2. The Communists are always keenly aware of the importance of making newspapers easy to swallow for the masses. Early in their underground days they made a motto of O. A. Piatnitskii's utterance that "revolutionary newspapers must be written in plain and popular language so that they can be understood by the masses."[32] In Southwest China, where public education has been even less developed than in North or East China, the newspapers catering to uneducated and semi-educated readers are making a special effort to carry out the long-established policy of "explaining the political problems in the simplest possible terms."[33]

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32. A translation of this article appears in Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], Jan.15,1932. Osip Aronovich Piatnitskii, who wrote such standard treatises on Communist propaganda and agitation as the World Economic Crisis: the Revolutionary Upsurge

[continued next page]

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208 Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Cultural and Educational Commission for this region, took pride in announcing in 1951 that this policy was observed in the development of the southwestern press. Not only did the newspapers strive to move closer to the masses, Ch'u said, but the books published also went more than half-way to meet the needs of workers, farmers, and soldiers.[34] In most of the publications, local expressions and trade jargons are freely adopted. To a person trained in classical Chinese and accustomed to reading the serious writing of pre-Communist days, the new language of the Communist press would sound strange if not unintelligible. Yet the new language style, accentuated by the occasional use of words and expressions of minority-languages, could possibly increase the popular appeal of the newspapers. One other factor that contributes to the effectiveness of the press as a whole is the Communist drive to eliminate illiteracy. In the reading classes, mimeographed news bulletins, wall newspapers, and other handy means of news communication are employed. Although these

[32. continued] and the Tasks of the Communist Parties, and World Communists in Action, was idolized by the Chinese Bolsheviks in the early 1930's.

33. Red Flag, March 10, 1932.

34. New China Daily, Chungking, October 1, 1951, p. 3.

204 smaller papers are not as elaborate as the New
208 China Daily of Chungking, they contain the same basic political messages in boiled-down versions. This seems to coincide with Lenin's theory that an "agitator uses a few words to present a single idea." [35] Anybody studying the Communist press at work will do well to remember the enticement to a semi-illiterate person of a printed message he vaguely understands. He will want to read it again and again until he feels that he has understood it fully. The ability to read has always been highly treasured in China. (See chapters on "Family" and "Social Structure.") Thus, Communist propaganda has been contributing a great deal to whetting the intellectual appetite of the semi-illiterate class in this region as a whole.

3. It would be misleading to compare the Chinese Communist press with the U. S. press and to judge the former's effectiveness accordingly. To begin with, the Chinese Communist press has never permeated community life to the same degree that the U. S. press has. Except for a small section of China's urban population, no Chinese will feel that he has missed something if he has no morning paper to read at the breakfast table. However, it may be said that the Communists in this region are helping the people to cultivate a newspaper reading habit by means

35. David Shub, Lenin, New York, The American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1954, p. 31.

204 of organizing news paper reading groups and
208 other encouragements. The reading of newspapers or having newspapers read and explained to him is exciting to the average peasant on a Szechwan farm or in the western Yunnan mountains. Since he has no previous experience which he can compare with the present one, he will hardly know what else there is to be desired in a newspaper other than what he finds there. Compared with North and East China, the Southwest has an even smaller sophisticated population. To the unsophisticated, the press in Southwest China is conveying a good deal of new information.

4. While the Communists are feeding the public with their diatribes, using the press as a spoon, they are also bringing to the public a considerable amount of much-needed rudimentary knowledge on the natural sciences, public health, and sanitation. This may not particularly be true of the New China Daily because it has as its primary mission the interpretation of government policy to the public. But as an established policy, the Communists have been assigning local papers the duty of carrying special columns devoted to various popular sciences and technical subjects suitable for their readers. In addition, there is at least one magazine for each of the population segments in Southwest China; for youths there is the Southwest Youth Biweekly; for women, the Southwest Women Monthly; for mechanical workers, the Mechanical Worker, etc. For each periodical on a certain subject, there are dozens of pamphlets published every year to reach readers of varying

degrees of education. The propaganda angle in most of these publications is obvious. Even the most technical treatises do not neglect to contrast the present with the past. The past is treated with disdain and its shortcomings are blamed on the "reactionary Kuomintang" or "American imperialism." The present, however, is praised and excessive credit is given to Mao Tse-tung or Russia.

5. Another general criticism voiced by anti-Communist elements is that the newspaper in Communist China as a whole contains very little timely news. With the Communist system of censorship and double-checking, news dispatches are often delayed before they reach the press. However, it must be noted that lack of promptness in reporting news may not seriously impair the effectiveness of the controlled press in South China as a medium of propaganda; many of the readers are unsophisticated, and to them the Communist press, regardless of its content, possesses a great appeal because it is something new and exciting.

6. Two developments may impair the effectiveness of the press in Southwest China. One is the lavish use of statistical data to support or refute an issue. Although so far no gross inaccuracies have been discovered in the major newspapers here, cases involving inaccurate reporting have

204 208 been exposed in the Central-South China press.[36] Bent on propagandizing as it does, the Southwest China press is always faced with the danger of carrying propaganda too far. As the reader in time becomes more sophisticated, inaccurate reports will destroy his confidence in the press. The Communists claim that they are trying to be careful. They have even gone so far as to standardize the usage of punctuation marks, something which has never attracted the attention of the Chinese press.[37] The other development is the action taken by the Communists in Southwest China in response to a Peking order to restrict the circulation of local newspapers to their own respective districts only.[38] According to anti-Communists sources, this move is designed to "hide the deplorable conditions of one locality from the knowledge of those in another locality." The Communists explain it on the grounds of economy and planned distribution. Whatever the true reason is, this move will, in the long run, tend to impair the effectiveness of the press when newspapers cannot freely circulate from one place to another. Books and pamphlets in this region seem to be free from this restriction.

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36. The expose of inaccuracy in the New Hunan Daily, a major regional paper in Central-South China, was printed in Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, April 22, 1954.

37. People's Daily, Peking, September 26, 1951.

38. Central News Agency dispatch quoted in Review of Hong Kong Chinese Press, No. 174, American Consulate-General, Sept. 19-20, 1953.